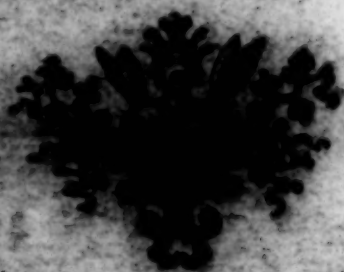


THE  
L I F E  
O F  
SIR *Robert Cochran,*  
PRIME MINISTER  
TO  
*K. James III. of Scotland.*

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*Ex auctoritate, Procurator publicus, Regni Scotiae.*  
HUMB.

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L O N D O N

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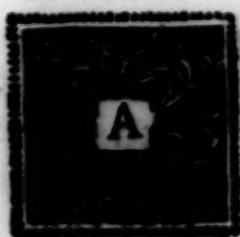
have





THE  
L I F E  
O F

SIR *Robert Cochran.*



**A**MONG the various Extracts from foreign Histories, and the inimitable Dissertations published, of late Years, upon our own, with the generous View of putting Mankind on their Guard against the Snares that may be laid to subvert their Liberties, by desperate or ambitious Ministers, I do not remember that *Scotland* has furnished its Share towards this important End; or that, while *Sweden,*

( 4 )

*Sweden, Muscovy, and Denmark,* been called upon for Help, we have had one Instance of the Fate of a Prime Minister in the Northern Part of this Island,

Now, whether we consider the Nature of the *Scotch* Government, the Temper of the People, or their Affinity to us, no History, in most Respects, but chiefly in this, will be found more worthy of our Attention.

*Scotland*, before the Union, was governed by a King and Parliament; the Crown hereditary; the Officers of State had their several Departments, and, like ours, were named by the Sovereign.

No People were more remarkable for their Loyalty and dutiful Regards to their Prince; but none were, at the same Time, more jealous of their Liberties, or had severer and more frequent Struggles to maintain them.

A Prime Minister, inconsistent with their Constitution, often fatal to the Sovereign, always noxious to the Subject, was their utter Aversion; and their Temper, in a Word, as well as their Circumstances, in Relation to Government, was intirely the same with ours.

NOR did the Union of the Crowns produce the least Alteration in their Character



ter in this Respect. On the contrary, since that Period, we have often reaped the Fruits of their seasonable Zeal for the Cause of Liberty.

THE March of the *Scotch* Army to *York* put the first Stop to the Encroachments and Oppressions of *Charles I.* and their repeated and bloody Attempts to relieve that unfortunate Prince, (as soon as he condescended to settle the Prerogative on a reasonable Foot) and to restore his Son, during the Usurpation, are melancholly Proofs, that they were not guided by factious Views, but by a well regulated Zeal for the Welfare and Interest of both Kingdoms.

THE forward Part they acted in the Time of King *James II.* and the Share they bore in the Revolution, are well known; and, without derogating from the Merit of any, with Truth it may be said, that the peaceable Execution of the Act of Settlement, (the Fountain of our present happy Establishment) the Accession of the Royal Family to the Crown, without the Hazard of a desperate and bloody War, was entirely owing to the disinterested Zeal, the Resolution and Address of a few Noble Families of *North Britain*, who, without the Advantages of Places, Pen-  
ons,

ons, or Court-Favour, nay, possibly, contrary to the secret Wishes of the Court itself, accomplished the Union of the Kingdoms, in Despite of the Outrages of a furious prejudic'd Populace, influenced by the Artifices of a powerful and numerous Party.

SUCH was the Alacrity and Confidence of Success, inspired by the Prospect of securing to *Great Britain* the invaluable Blessings of the *Hanover* Succession, that a Handful of Men, in private Stations, were enabled to bring about an Event, which had formerly baffled the utmost Efforts of the Crown. And tho' they daily reap the Fruits of their Labours; tho' their eminent Services on that Occasion are, doubtless, duly rewarded; yet surely their greatest Enemies would not, at this Time, envy those noble Persons that Tribute of Gratitude and Praise which is so justly due to them from the Publick.

BUT as we are thereby become one People, as our Fate must be the same, and as their Influence on our Measures cannot henceforth be inconsiderable, it will not, I hope, be disagreeable, (I am sure it will not be unprofitable) to take a View of the Conduct of their Ancestors, in Times of Difficulties and Danger. We shall thereby  
be

be enabled, with more Accuracy, to judge what is to be expected from them, if, by Means of a corrupt, ambitious, an ignorant, or a desperate Minister, we should ever have the Misfortune of being plunged into the like deplorable Circumstances.

THIS will appear from the following Pages, wherein I propose to give an Account of the Life and Character of a Person, who, without the Advantages of Merit, Blood, or Fortune, stumbled into Power, and, by accumulated Crimes and Corruptions, supported himself in the Possession of it; whose Want of Education, and a Genius suited to the high Stations he usurped, brought his Country into Confusion at Home, and Contempt Abroad, and so prostituted the Royal Authority, that, in the End, the King whom he served, at the Head of a powerful Army, was not able to protect him from a shameful and ignominious Death.

RELATIONS of this Sort are profitable to Men who aspire to high Stations; amusing to those who content themselves with the Enjoyments of a private Life; and give Offence to none but such as, through a Similitude of Character and Circumstances, feel themselves hurt, and, by their Censure, acknowledge they are guilty.

SIR



SIR *Robert Cochran*, ( for by the Collar he wore it appears he was a Knight ) lived about the Time that the Ambition of Queen *Margaret*, and the Blunders of her detested Ministers, *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, accomplished the Ruin of *Henry IV.* and forced him, with his Family, to take Refuge in *Scotland*.

HISTORY is silent as to his Birth ; and it is from Hints only that any Thing is to be learnt concerning his Education. Some Writers tell us, he was bred a Mason (*a*) ; and others, with greater Appearance of Truth, give him the genteeler Title of an Architect (*b*) ; but this Mistake may be owing to a more than ordinary Passion for building, or to something singular in the Edifice he erected for himself ; for, till he enriched himself by the Spoils of the People, 'tis notorious that he had scarce a Hole to put his Head in (*c*). By the same Rule, it may be said, that he was originally a Huntsman, since his retaining, to the last, an Attachment to that Diversion, unbecoming his Station, and often inconsistent with the Load of weighty Concerns he had upon his Hands, and wherein he could suffer no Partner of his Labours,

gave

( *a* ) *Lindsay*, p. 77. ( *b* ) *Ex Architecto Aulicus factus*. *Buchan*. p. 231. ( *c* ) *Lind*. p. 79.



gave Occasion to the Saying of Sir Robert Douglass, upon pulling his Horn from him on the Day he was executed, *'Thou hast been the Hunter of Mischief too long (d).*

FROM his Ignorance, however, the Blunders he committed in the Execution of his high Trust (e), the mean Instruments he made Choice of for his Assistants, and for his Parties of Pleasure (f), and from many other Circumstances, it is evident, that his Education was narrow, and suited so ill the Grandeur he afterwards affected, that, under Heaps of Finery, of which he was ridiculously fond, the Clown was constantly to be discerned: *'His riding Apparel was of black Velvet; the Horn he wore, as a Badge, doubtless, of an Office belonging to the Chace, or his being Ranger of of a Royal Park or Forest, was adorned with Jewels and precious Stones, and tipped with fine Gold at both Ends (g); his Collar, (which, by the Earl of Angus's reproachful Words, was the Ensign of a noble Order) by its Value, must have weighed at least three Pounds (h).* How he disposed of the other curious Horns,

B

mentio-

(d) Lind. p. 78. (e) Buch. p. 231. (f) E contemptissimo genere hominum. Ibid. (g) Lind. p. 78. (h) Torque aureo mag. pond. Buch. p. 234. A Rope would become you better, Lind. p. 78.

mentioned by *Lindsay*, as Part of his Ornaments, or Marks of Distinction, is not so clear ; but in this all Authors agree, that his affected Magnificence (*i*), in which there was always too much, and much wanting, served only to set forth his awkward Taste, and the mean Things he had been accustomed to in his Youth. Nor did Nature, to make amends for these Defects, and in some Measure to intitle him to the Honours wherewith Fortune seem'd diverted to overload him, bestow upon him extraordinary Talents in their Room. His Superiority consisted in a matchless Impudence. He was abandon'd enough to undertake, and had Boldness to execute the most desperate and villainous Things, provided they contributed to the Advancement of his Fortune, or to strengthen his Interest ; and these were the Qualifications that long supported him, in the high Station he attain'd, after he was accidentally taken Notice of, and brought to Court by *James Third of Scotland* (*k*).

THE Courtiers, however, soon discover'd in him the Symptoms of a growing Favorite ;

(*i*) See his Field Equipage, *Lind.* p. 78 and 79.

(*k*) Buch. p. 231. Whose chief Commendation was being impudently wicked and villainous, *Hume* p. 222. *Lind.* 73 and 74.

rite ; for, by the Labours of the Body, he supply'd the Defects of the Mind. He bore with Patience the grossest Indignities, and with Assiduity executed the meanest Offices (l), so that he quickly became important, and was judged worthy of the Alliance of a Person of Quality, at that Time in great Favour at Court. But as the Name of that noble Lord is never once mentioned in History, after Sir *Robert* got into the full Possession of Power, it is to be presumed, that he supplanted him (m), or treated him (as he did others) with so much Arrogance and Contempt, that he found himself under a Necessity of resigning his Employments, and retiring to the Country. Let this be as it will, the Lustre of so considerable an Alliance was the first Step to his approaching Grandeur, to which many other Circumstances concurred to pave the Way.

His Master's Passions were strong and undisguised ; he could not brook Contradiction ; and presuming to offer Advice, that clash'd with his Humours or Notions, was an infallible Cause of Aversion and Disgrace (n). Thus it became no easy Task  
to

(l) *Buch.* p. 231. (m) *Buch.* *ibid.* (n) *Ingenio acri & præservido, Buch.* 229. *Effrænatos impetus, Buch.* p. 237. *Procerum incensendo refugerit libertatem, tales circa se habebat, qui non corrigerent sed approbarent sua decreta, Buch.* p. 231.



to reconcile his Interests and Inclinations; and it required a masterly Head, and a delicate Turn, to serve him faithfully, without forfeiting his Confidence and Favour (o). But to Sir Robert these were trifling Difficulties. He was not troubled with the foolish Qualms that startle scrupulous Statesmen; Wealth and Dominion were the Points he steer'd to, no Matter what were the Consequences of the Methods he employed to attain them (p).

ANOTHER Thing that contributed not a little to his Rise, and freed him from the Hazard of many Rivals, was the Fate of those who had signaliz'd themselves, by adhering to the King in his younger Days. The Disgrace of some, the Neglect of others, and the slender Rewards that any of them met with, deterred all Persons of Merit and Fortune from aspiring to the Place they had possessed in his Favour.

*' MANT, on that Occasion, considering  
' the Inconstancy of Fortune, but the greater  
' Number reflecting on the King's small  
' Regard to past Services, that he repented  
' soon of the Favours he bestowed, whilst  
' he was tenacious of Wrath, and irreconcilable*

(o) Hume, p. 222. (p) Whether they were just or unjust, all was alike to him, Lind. p. 75.



*cilable in the Aversions, which, on very slight Grounds, he was apt to conceive (q).*

BUT the Fall of the Earl of Arran wrought the strongest Effect in this Way. *It not only astonished his Friends, but amazed even his Enemies. The Brightness of his Parts, his Magnificence, Generosity, and other eminent Virtues, were above the Reach of Envy and Detraction (r).*

HE had serv'd the King from his Youth, with Fidelity and Zeal, and the greatest Honours of his Country had, in Return, been conferred upon him. He acquitted himself of his Embassy with Honour and Applause; but, during that Embassy, his Enemies found Means to supplant him (s), and the vile Abuses, the low Calumnies, the spiteful Malice, wherewith the Court ceased not to pursue him, even to spiriting from him a Wife of infinite Worth, who ador'd him (t), afford melancholly Ideas of the Times he liv'd in.

SIR Robert, however, and he indeed almost only, found his Account in them; and what

(q) Buch. p. 229. (r) Laudata supra modum, etiam ab invidis & minus æquis, ejus virtute & splendore, opibusque ad quamvis magnificentiam suppetentibus, Buch. p. 227. (s) Ibi fraude inimicorum, & amicis parum prospicientibus, Buch. Ibid. (t) Insignem erga maritum amorem. Buch. p. 228.

what by Means of the Rupture in the Royal Family (*u*), (the Source of all the King's Misfortunes, as it occasioned the first Breach among his Friends) which, by trumping up a foolish Prophecy (*x*), he at length accomplished, by his notorious Corruptions, and by an outward Shew of abject Submission to his Master, whilst, behind his Back, his Behaviour toward him was most ungrateful and indecent (*y*). He gain'd such an Ascendant over the King, that not only no Reports to his Prejudice were hearken'd to, but all his Representations of Men and Things, however false, found entire Credit (*z*).

THESE were suited to his own Purposes, which seldom were consistent with the King's, and never with his Country's Interest. He treated as Enemies to both, and, unfortunately for himself, the King acted as if they had really been so, who-soever differ'd with him in Opinion, or presum'd to oppose his pernicious Schemes (*a*).

THUS were Numbers drove from Court,  
whose

(*u*) *Lind. p. 73 and 74.* (*x*) *Enque dictio cum malificarum mulierum responsis consentiret, Buch. p. 231. Lind. p. 75.* (*y*) *This false Flatterer, Lind. p. 74. He cared not the King's Honour, Lind. p. 75. Hume p. 221.* (*z*) *Ibid.* (*a*) *Quicumque habet—potentiam ad audaciz resistendum, hunc pro hoste numerat, Buch. p. 233. Lind. p. 75.*

whose Abilities, Birth, and Fortunes, entitled them to a Share in the Government; but disdain'd to purchase it by mean Submissions, or at the Expence of concurring in Measures destructive to their King and Country (b).

Thus was the Way paved for Sir Robert's present Grandeur; but he was not aware, that, by these violent Proceedings, he laid the Foundation of inevitable Ruin, which overtook him in the Height of his imaginary Glory.

BUT having satiated his Ambition, by worming out of Court, even to Kinsmen and Benefactors, all who had Power or Parts to controul him, it was now high Time to think of indulging another favorite Passion; and, while his Head was crowded with Funds and Projects to increase his Master's Hoards, he neglected not the necessary Means of raising to himself, from nothing, an exorbitant Estate (c).

AMONG these, the Sale of all Employments, Ecclesiastical and Civil (for even Bishopricks were sold, *aut turpium voluptatum Ministris in præmium cedebant*) made no small Figure (d), both on account

(b) Vide the Lords Remonstrance to the King, *Lind.* 76. (c) *Lucri ostentata magnitudo—eo facile perducitur, ut Regi suaderent, &c. Buch. p. 227 & 229.* (d) *Rebus omnibus, tam sacris quam prophanis, in aula venientibus ad publicam nundinationem propositis. ib. p. 231.*



count of the Profits that thereby accrue'd; and of the fatal Effects it produced; in propogating his Corruptions, in discouraging Virtue, Learning, and Merit, and in laying Men in Office under a Sort of Necessity of oppressing the Subject, and robbing the Crown. This was pushed to so scandalous a Height, during Sir *Robert's* Administration, that it prov'd a Source of infinite Discontent and Clamour against the Court.

THE Patent he obtain'd for coining of Copper, or Halfpence (e), made no less Noise, and brought him in immense Sums. By Degrees, it would, as he had laid his Plan, have drain'd all the Specie, and would have utterly ruin'd the Trade of the Country it was granted for; and, notwithstanding all the Opposition it met with, it did incredible Mischief (f).

It is a Mistake to imagine, that *Wood* had any Concern in this Project; for tho' there is Reason to believe, that he continued in the King's Service during Sir *Robert's* Ministry, yet Sir *Andrew Wood* had a Soul above any Thing so foul and in-

(e) The King gave him Leave to strike Money, call'd *Cosbran's Farthings*, Lind. p. 75. Monetæ æneæ, Buch. p. 234. (f) Hinc orta omnium rerum caritas—sed ne omnino commercia cessarent, unum inventum est remedium, Buch. ib.



infamous, as this Imposition of the Halfpence appears to have been (g); and tho' all the Historians treat fully on this Matter, I find no other Person of that Name made Mention of by any of them.

It is not my Intention to enter into a minute Detail of the Minister's Rapines. It would be endless. And, were I to relate all the Particulars reported, it might seem incredible, that one, who scrupled not to avow his Transactions and Jobbs of this Sort, in the publickest Manner, should be so long bore with in a free Country. I chuse, therefore, to close this Branch of his Character with *Lindsay's* Account of him, which is extremely to the Purpose; and I flatter myself, that the evident Marks it bears of plain and unaffected Sincerity, will induce the candid Reader to pardon his uncourtly Style, and the unfashionable Expressions he makes Use of. But I ought first to premise, that tho' the Minister was undoubtedly possess'd of the Profits of the Earldom of *Mar*, either by Grant, or under Colour of collecting them for the King; yet it is the general Opinion, that he had no Patent for the Title; and most Historians, like our Author, treat him with so much Contempt, that they

C feldom

(g) Lind. p. 93 and 94. Buch. p. 240.

seldom bestow upon him a Designation more respectful, than barely that of his Surname (b).

‘ At this Time, Cochran grew so familiar with his Grace, that nothing was done at Court without him; and all Men that would have their Business dress’d with the King’s Grace, came to Cochran, and made him Forespeaker for them, and gave him large Sums of Money to dress their Business. Theretbrough he became so rich and puissant, and of such Substance, that no Man might strive with him. But he knowing the King’s Nature, that he was covetous upon Money, and loved them better that gave him Money, than those that took from him, he gave the King large Sums of Money, wheretbrough he obtained the Earldom of Mar from the King, and ever clamb higher and higher in Court, till he had no Peer nor Comparison of no Lord of Scotland, Spiritual nor Temporal, in the King’s Favour. Whatever was done in Court or Council with the King, nothing was done or concluded but by him; nor

(b) Negant scriptores Cochran. Marriæ comitem creatum, sed tantum fructus colligendi curam illi commissam. Annot. in Buch. p. 234. Regendum commiserat. ib.

nor no Man durst say, that his Proceed-  
 ings were wicked or evil, or unprofitable  
 for the Commonweal, but he would have  
 his Indignation, and cause punish him  
 for the same: For this Cochran had such  
 Authority at Court, and such Credence of  
 the King, that no Man got Credence or  
 Audience of the King, but by his Moyer.  
 So all that would esteem him, or flatter  
 him, or bribe him, their Matters were  
 dress'd according to their own Pleasure,  
 whether it were just or unjust, or against  
 the Commonweal, all was alike to him;  
 for he cared not the Welfare of the Realm,  
 nor the Honour of the King, so that he  
 might have his own singular Profit, and  
 Estimation at Court. So he abused this  
 noble Prince, that none was received in  
 Court, nor no Kind of Offices bestowed,  
 but on those that would obey him, and be  
 of his Faction. So by this Means the  
 prudent Lords Counsell was refused,  
 and their Sons were absent from the  
 King's Service; for no Man durst come  
 to serve the King, but he that was a Flat-  
 terer of Cochran, and thought all Things  
 well done that he counselled the King to  
 do. By this Way, the King lost the Hearts  
 of many of his best Subjects, who fain  
 would have served the King's Majesty;  
 but



but they could get no Place, for this Cochran and his Company; and no Casualty could fall to the King, but it was disposed of by the Advice of this Cochran, and not by the Counsel of the Lords and Barons.

IN these Words does *Lindsay* set forth the Character of this all-grasping Power-engrossing Minister; so singular in its Kind, that I question, if, from any History yet extant, a Parallel can be produced. The *Suffolks*, the *Buckinghams*, and most of the unfortunate Prime Ministers, whose Actions have been recorded, as they were of noble Blood, so all of them had something great in their Characters, which, in the Midst of their Vices, commanded Respect. They valued themselves upon patronizing Merit, in some Shape; and studied to raise the Lustre and the Magnificence, and to improve the Politeness of the Courts they shined in. But to our Hero this peculiar Praise is due, That he framed to a Conformity with his own Taste, a polite Court, and reduced it to the Level of his own clownish Deportment. His Jokes, always noisy, often obscene, became the Standard of fashionable Wit; and such was the Influence of his riotous Behaviour, that the Forms and Decencies, essential



cial to the Dignity of a Royal Palace; were banished, or ridiculed, as stiff and antiquated Fopperies (i).

BUT this was not all, nor the worst. Enforced by his Example, and nourished by his Practices, such a Torrent of Corruption diffused itself through the whole Kingdom (k), as endangered the immediate Subversion of the Constitution. Nor was it confined to the meaner Sort. The Sentiments and Morals of Persons of the first Rank were debauched; and what was, in former Days, if ever practised by Men of Figure, wrapt up in the Bowels of Secrecy and Darkness, came now to be openly transacted, as well in regard to selling of Places in their Disposal (l), as in making Merchandise of themselves and their Services to the Minister.

FOR tho' he was detested by the Body of the People (m); tho' the Party, which the publick Dangers, the Preservation of the King, and the Cause of Liberty, had united

(i) They were not worthy to have been with a King—to rule a Court, or give Counsel to a great Prince; but were fitter for Ploughmen, Shepherds, and Cow-Keepers. *Vide* Lord Chancel. Speech. *Lind.* p. 87. (k) *Tempora etiam corrupta. Buch.* p. 239. (l) *Aulica factio—a Rege impetrata aliis divendebant. Buch.* p. 229. (m) *Tantum univerforum studio in eorum exitium. Buch.* p. 234.

united in a determined Opposition to his Measures, consisted of all the great Men, remarkable for Parts or Virtue (*n*); yet he had some considerable in Titles, as well as Fortunes, who long adhered to him, and blushed not to justify his Conduct, at the Expence of their Judgment or Characters. Of this Number was the Lord Chamberlain (*o*); a Man so little hamper'd by that unprofitable Companion, called *Principle*; that he seems not to have understood the Meaning of the Word. He was abject, haughty, false, selfish, illiterate, and conceited; and his whole Merit consisted in an unwearied Assiduity in Attendance, and a loobily Sort of Craft (*p*).

He is said to have been the first Man of any Note who brib'd the Minister; and this is not a bare Suspicion, founded upon Want of Merit, but it is particularly recorded, 'That by large Sums he purchased Sir Robert's Support in the Possession of a Province, (as *Buchanan* usually styles it) of which he had the Government in the late King's Time (*q*).'

IN

(*n*) These Proceedings moved the Lords, &c. to fall from the King, and set their Intent to find a Remedy. *Lind.* p. 76. (*o*) *Lind.* p. 72, 73, 74, 86 and 90. (*p*) Believed with such crafty Means to use the same—*Lind.* p. 73. *Vitio temporis ab literis inculto. Buch.* (*q*) Gave *Cochran* great Gifts of Gold and Silver. *ib.*

IN Return, by the Access his Place at Court gave him, and his gross Flatteries (r), he contributed not a little to deceive the King, and fortify the Minister in his Favour (s), partly by confirming his false Suggestions, and sometimes insinuating, by Way of Threat, *That his Majesty would be irretrievably undone, the Moment he put the Management of his Affairs in other Hands.* Yet no sooner did this zealous Friend perceive the Tide run too strong, and the Minister in real Danger, but he turn'd Tail, and was one of the first in proposing the ignominious Part of his Execution (t).

BUT the Contagion of the Minister's Corruptions raged no where with greater Violence than amongst the Clergy; and the arrantest Tools, the thoroughest Flatterers his Power procured him, were the Bishops (u); insomuch, that we read but of one of those holy Fathers, who, during his Administration, had the Virtue to act a Part becoming the Dignity of his Order, and the Courage to make a Stand in Defence of the Liberties of his Country (x). The  
Hopes

(r) He flattered the King and Courtiers. *Lind.* p. 74.

(s) The Fortifier of *Cochran* in that Cause. *ib.* (t) *Lind.* p. 77.

(u) *Inter hos Anlæ mores, ordo ecclesiasticus nihilo sanctius agebat. Buch.* p. 229. (x) *Unus velut sufflamīnabat. ib.*—*Episcopi reliqui.* 230.



Hopes of Translations, the Lust of richer Benefices, and the late Regulations, with regard to the proper Methods of being recommended to them, is assigned, by *Buchanan*, as the Source of this Evil (y). *For tho' Luxury and Avarice* (says that learned Author) *had long been predominant in the Members of the Church, yet, while Virtue was encouraged, and Learning rewarded, they retained the Appearances, at least, of their primitive Character.* But no sooner was this new Road to Preferment chalk'd out, when Flattery and implicit Submission came to be the only necessary Qualifications required, all was resolved into the arbitrary Will of One, and *they soon became a mere dead Weight, without Liberty or Choice; united indeed, but not to seek or serve, or defend Truth, or Justice, or Right, but to promote the Designs of those who served them, and favoured their Attempts of establishing a Spiritual Tyranny* (z).

A flagrant Instance of this ( I mean the Minister's playing to the Bishops Hands, as they constantly did to his ) was the  
cruel

(y) Potestatem designandi quos vellet—Inde enim non defuturum, unde & contumaces reprimeret, & dubios retineret, & bene meritis gratiam referret—Adulatoribus cedebant. *Buch.* p. 229 & 231. (z) Continuo nova rerum facies. *ib.*

cruel and inhuman Usage which that venerable and worthy Churchman, *Peter Graham*, met with. And tho', in Times like the present, ( when Meekness, Charity, Self-denial, and Brotherly Love, are the distinguishing Qualities of the Pillars of our Church ) it will hardly be credited that *so violent a Spirit could be stirred up against an innocent, inoffensive, benevolent Man ; against whom no Vices, no Immoralities, no Infidelity, could, with any Justice, be objected (a).* Yet, as the Story is well attested, and is thought worthy of being set forth, in all its Circumstances, by a very concise and judicious Historian, I hope a summary Account of it will not be disagreeable to the curious Reader ; especially as it furnishes a convincing Proof of the Truth of an old Saying, *That you may as well oppose the Rage of the Sea in a Tempest, as the Fury of a Priest intoxicated with Power.*

THIS worthy Prelate was nam'd by the Pope to the See of *St. Andrews* ; but, to his Misfortune, without previous Application to the Minister, and the Knot of Priests in Combination with him.

D

UN:

(a) Vir. nullius sceleris compertus, doctrina & virtute nemini sui temporis inferior, *Buch. p. 231.*

UNWILLING to countenance, and unable to reform the Conduct of his Brethren, he had some Time before retir'd to *Rome*, where his Piety, his Wisdom, and Christian Deportment, easily procured him, besides his Bishoprick, a Commission as Legate.

HOWEVER agreeable it was to the Body of the Clergy, that a Charge of such Importance was entrusted in the Hands of so good and so learned a Man (*b*), his Power and his Character alarm'd, equally, the governing Prelates, and those whose sole Pretensions to Church Preferments consisted in a slavish Submission to them (*c*); and no sooner was his Nomination heard of, but a detestable Conspiracy was form'd to disappoint and destroy him (*d*).

HEAVEN and Earth were moved for that Purpose, and no Means, however wicked and unfair, were left unpractis'd; so that their Clamour (*e*), and the Apprehensions of the Minister, whose tottering Condition made him dread the Effects of their Resentment, soon procur'd a Resolution

(*b*) A minoribus quidem sacerdotibus satis æquo animo est auditus: gaudebant enim munus tam necessarium viro bono & erudito commissum, *Buch. p. 230.* (*c*) Fremebat ea factio—*ib.* (*d*) Hi omnes, conjuratione facta. *ib.* (*e*) Maledictis Patricium onerant, & in Regiam collecti queruntur. *ib.*



lution at Court to suspend him from the Exercise of his Functions, till the King was duly inform'd of the Truth of the Facts laid to his Charge (f).

THE first Objection against his Admission was, —That he was an Enemy to the Constitution (g), ‘ *His Commission containing a Power to reform* (h).

THE Second, —That he was a Heretic, ‘ *Having said Mass thrice in one Day; whereas no Bishop in the Kingdom perform'd that Office above once in three Months* (i)

ANOTHER Set of Arguments were urged against him, from the Manner in which he was recommended (k). And the last and most powerful was, —That the Administration must unavoidably be overset, and his Majesty exposed to imminent Danger, if a Person of his Principles, so obnoxious to the Clergy, was promoted (l).

No

(f) Ne ullam sui muneris partem attingeret, donec Rex, de quereimoniis adversus eum ad se delatis, cognosceret. *Buch. p. 230.* (g) Vetusta majorum jura — violari. *ib.* (h) Diploma — ad ecclesiast. ordinandum. *ib.* (i) Quod uno die ter missaret, dum vix reperiebatur Episcopus, qui ternis mensibus semel id munus obiret. *ib.* (k) Recentia Regum edicta violari, ac multa universo regno damnosa per Romanenses adagitari. *ib.* (l) Regem brevi in ordinem redactum iri — *ib.*

No Sort of Proof was at first offer'd in Support of these weighty Charges ; but, after they were sufficiently spread, and every honest Man was astonish'd at the Method of Aspersion, the Authors of these Infamies pretended, that publick Fame was a good Foundation for Suspicion, and that the Party, so suspected, must be presum'd guilty, unless he clear'd himself to the World.(*m*). But this he had a Soul too great to sto p to ; he disdain'd such mean and idle Endeavours.

In the mean While, the Faction that opposed him bethought themselves of an infallible Expedient to facilitate the Work, an Argument of greater Weight than any they had hitherto made Use of: A large Sum of Money was collected, and presented at Court by the Bishops (*n*), '*That they might not seem ungrateful to so kind an Administration.*' Upon the Credit of this a new Scene was opened.

THE Objections against this irreproachable Man, were, at first, pretended to be founded only upon his general Character ; but his Life and Actions were afterwards scann'd and commented upon (*o*); his familiar

(*m*) *Buch.* p. 230. (*n*) *Episcopi reliqui—ib.* (*o*) *De visa & moribus enquirent. Buch,*

miliar Conversations, from his Youth upward, were sifted into ; and, in the End, a Couple of infamous spiteful Clergymen (the one a profest Fortune-Teller, the other a pitiful School-Master) (*p*), were spirited up as Actors and Informers against him. Among other groundless Calumnies, they suggested, that he was mad ; an Epithet then given by the Courtiers to every Thing that looked like Virtue or publick Spirit ; but tho' the whole Charge amounted to no more than a Number of *trifling, ridiculous and incredible Tales*, yet such was the Inveteracy and prevailing Influence of his Opposers, that an Inquisition (it cannot be called a Trial) was held upon the Integrity of his Life and Character ; and *Schyres*, his Accuser and mortal Enemy, appointed Judge for that Purpose. *There*, (says our Author) *by the iniquitous Sentence of a partial Judge, supported by the Testimony of suborn'd Witnesses, he was compelled to spue up or renounce the Bishoprick.*

Nor was this sufficient to satiate the Malice of his Adversaries, but, envying the  
Mag-

(*p*) *Severſius igitur ingenii acrimonia, & ſcientiæ aſtrologiæ jactatione, & aulica gratia florens — communicato conſilio cum Johanne Locco ſcholarum publicarum rectore, machinas omnes ad eum ſubvertendum admovent. ib. Homines ex inferiore ordine — contemſit. ib.*



Magnanimity, the Temper and Resignation wherewith he submitted to a Torrent he was unable to withstand, they ceased not to persecute him, till Age and Sorrows put an End to his Life.

*So far'd it with this exemplary Prelate, under the Scourge of this unexampled Administration (q). Adored by the People for his generous and upright Sentiments (r). He was inferior to none of his Contemporaries in Learning and Knowledge. ' His Fate, (continues the above mentioned ' Author) affords a lively Image of the Misery of the Times he lived in; and one ' may easily judge what Hardships and ' Oppressions the Subjects of inferior Note ' groan'd under, when a Man of his noble ' Extraction, eminent for all Manner of ' Virtues, a Friend to the King, allied to ' his Family, and supported by the Favour and good Wishes of Persons of the ' first Rank of the Kingdom, was thus cruelly abandon'd, by a profligate Minister, ' to the Insults and Persecution of his Enemies (s).*

BUT Sir Robert was become desperate; and the publick Marks of the People's Indignation,

(q) *Paucis infimæ fortis nebulonibus. ib.* (r) *Ut favor populi erga Patricium clanguesceret.* (s) *Buch.* 2. 231.

dignation, (which broke out in all Parts of the Kingdom, upon his notorious Attempts to extend and perpetuate his Tyranny) exasperated him to such a Degree (*t*), that he seem'd determin'd to involve the King and Country in his Ruin, since he found it inconsistent with his Safety to resign his Power (*u*). But Providence, and the Vigilance of his Opposers, disappointed, in some Measure, his wicked Purposes: And the Accession of the Lord High Chancellor, to their Party, did greatly contribute to facilitate their Success. His Abilities, Judgment, Prudence, Resolution and Integrity, had acquired him universal Esteem, and he was almost adored by those of his Profession (*x*). Whilst he adhered to the Court, his Reputation gave Credit to their Counsels (*y*); but finding it in vain to oppose, in private, the pernicious Schemes that were pursued, and that what he recommended or advised was but little regarded, he entered into Concert with those who were united in Defence of the Constitution, and laboured to preserve the King, by separating his Cause from the Minister's (*z*).

How

(*t*) Qui, quod omnibus jure se invisum intelligit, omnes oderit. *Buch.* p. 233. (*u*) *Lind.* p. 76. Nihil eminens aut excelsum superesse vult. *Buch. ibid.* (*x*) *Crawford. Vit. L. Evendal.* (*y*) *Ibid.* (*z*) *Lind.* p. 76 and 77.

How he came to be continued in his Office, at a Time when differing with the Minister, in the most trivial Points, was attended with immediate Disgrace, is not mentioned in History; but, it is certain, he was one of the select Committee who concerted the Method of seizing him at *Lawder*, and, as Lord Chancellor, assisted at his Trial (a).

BESIDES, it appears, by his remarkable Speech to the Duke of *Albany*, after the King's Retreat to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, that he had been of the Number of the Patriots long before that Event, and had loudly disapproved his Majesty's Choice, both with Regard to Men and Measures (b).

BUT, to counterbalance the growing Power of the Country Party, and ward against the Vengeance wherewith their Increase daily threaten'd him, no Methods were left unpractised by the Minister, to strengthen the King's Hands, as well as to fill his Coffers. Some Instances of his Ingenuity, in forming Projects to plunder his Fellow-Subjects, we have already seen; but as the Funds for Corruption were not very extensive in those Days, and the Government could not be carried on without Parliaments, he contrived a frugal Expedient

(a) Lind. p. 77. (b) See his Speech, Lind. p. 81.



silent to render these Parliaments dependent on the Crown, and secure to himself a certain Majority of Voices. For this Purpose, we are told by a learned Antiquary (c), a sufficient Number of Men of low Rank, and particularly of the inferior Clergy, were, in this Reign, brought into Parliament, who had no other Right to sit and vote there, but being called by the King's Writ. How this secur'd a Majority for the Court, is obvious; but two Things are necessary to be explain'd — That the Lords and Commons made but one House; and that Persons so called, by Writ, had no Title to sit in subsequent Parliaments. But as this Power had never been practis'd in former Reigns, and was soon put a Stop to, it was, doubtless, an unwarrantable Stretch of the Prerogative, more dangerous than the Abuse of creating a Number of Peers for a Job, but much of the same Nature.

THIS unprecedented Method of raising the Power of the Crown, of which the *Scots* were always extreamly jealous; this infallible Way of reducing Parliaments to an absolute Dependency, by overpowering its ancient Constituents with a corrupt Crew, who were gaping for small Preferments, had an Effect quite different from what the Mi-

E

nister

(c) Crawford.

mitter proposed. It render'd, indeed, all Endeavours of bringing him to Justice, in the usual Forms, impracticable; but as it frustrated the very Intent of Parliaments, as it made the Constitution subservient to the Evils it was calculated to prevent, it united, in a closer Concert against him, all who breathed the Sentiments of Liberty, and envigorated their Resolutions of pulling down a Man, whose constant Business it was to forge new Fetters for his Country (d); so that the only Adherents he had left, were a Medley of pusillanimous or necessitous Slaves, who, when his Day came, had not the Soul to shew their Face in his Defence (e).

THESE Inconveniencies, this obvious Hazard, one would think, he could not be so blind as not to foresee; but it is possible, at the same Time, to imagine, that his Crimes laid him under a Necessity of forming desperate Designs, however wretched his Conscience might make him in the Execution of them. This appears plainly to have been Sir Robert's Case.

BUT whilst the Stings of a guilty Conscience pursued him, and filled his Imagination with the Horrors of the Punishment he deserved; while foreboding Apprehensions

(d) Buch. p. 233. Hume, p. 223. (e) Buch. p. 234.

sions of his & Roaching Fate interrupted his Slumbers, and the Day was spent in blocking up his Master, and watching, against the Approaches of Truth, his Royal Ear; whilst he strove to delude himself, and divert his gloomy Thoughts with mistaken Proofs of imaginary Security, and vainly fancied he struck Terror into others, by repeating injudicious Instances of his absolute and irresistible Power at Court; whilst the Minister's Head, I say, was thus distracted, the Interests of his Master, with regard to foreign Powers, lay totally neglected; or, like the domestick Affairs, were sacrificed to his private Views, which now center'd wholly in his own Preservation (f). But the many curious and unforeseen Circumstances that occur'd, in Relation to the Situation at Home, and seem'd worthy of Notice, has already swell'd this Paper to such a Bulk, that, like the Minister, I shall pass slightly over the foreign Concerns.

Notwithstanding the Troubles in the Beginning of King *James II's* Reign, by his prudent and manly Conduct, and keeping Faith religiously with his Allies, he brought his Kingdom to be respected Abroad, and his Friendship was courted by foreign Powers. A

(f) Buch. p. 232. Lind. p. 77, 78. Hume, p. 223.



A strong Proof of this we'd see in that remarkable Speech (g) of *Edward IV's* Ambassadors, entreating his Assistance and Support: And these Regards were rather increased than diminished, during the Administration of Archbishop *Kennedy*, and the *Boys*, in *James III's* Minority (h). But, under Sir *Robert's* Administration, partly thro' Folly, and a beastly Ignorance of every Thing that related to these Matters, and partly by his Perversity, in not fulfilling his Engagements with foreign Princes (i), the Nation came to be held in the utmost Contempt Abroad: And when the King's Distresses fell upon him, however he might flatter himself before, he felt, when it was too late, that he had not one Ally left (k.) Of these I shall give but a few Instances, but they are strong.

*Lewis XI.* was, about this Time, says *Spotiswood*, upon the Point of dissolving the ancient League with *Scotland*. And surely it must have been a masterly Blunder in a *Scotch* Minister, or a sovereign Con-

(g) *Lind.* p. 59. (h) *Legati Anglorum auditi petentibus induciæ, in an. 15. datæ. Buch.* p. 224. (i) *Edward* and his Council refused to assist the King, because they had often, without Success, required the Succours stipulated by the Treaty of 1464 and 1472. *Lind.* p. 80. *Buch.* p. 232. *Rhymer, ad annos suprad.* (k) *Buch.* p. 238.

Contempt of his Administration, that could provoke a *French* King to think of renouncing an Alliance, in all Ages, of such signal Use to his Predecessors. The Minister had, at the same Time, acted so foolishly, or falsely, or both, with *Edward* IV. that, by Advice of his Council, he determined to break off the Match between his Daughter and the Prince of *Scotland*, tho' Matters had gone so far, that Part of her Portion was actually paid. But such were the Dispositions in *Scotland* toward the Administration, and so obstinately did the King persist in supporting this obnoxious Minister, that it was apprehended in *England*, says *Buchanan*, '*That James and his Posterity would be drove out of the Kingdom* (l).' And so, indeed, in all Probability, it would have happen'd, had not his Son, afterward *James* VI. taken the Measure he did, in putting himself so seasonably at the Head of the Country Party (m).

YET, in order to amuse the World while he work'd his own dirty Jobs, Treaties and Negotiations were much in Vogue in *Sir Robert's* Days. Such was his famous Treaty

(l) *Edwardus de concilii sententia, sensuit que de nuptiis pactus erat, irrita fieri, magis e re Anglica esse: quod, in tantis intestinis diffidiis, metneret ne Jacobi posteritas regno pelleretur.* (m) *Hume, p. 229. Buchanan, p. 238. Lind. p. 88.*

Treaty of 1474. for Matches, and mutual Guaranties of Succession, introduced with the pompous Preamble, '*of promoting the Wealth, Peace, Honour, and Interest of this noble Isle*'; but concluded, as the Event plainly shews, with the upright Intention of TRICKING *Edward* into Compliance with the Execution of some of his pernicious or ridiculous Projects; for he never executed one Article of this Treaty, tho' the Succours stipulated were often required, and strenuously insisted upon (n).

SUCH were his fruitless Embassies and Commissions, to put a Stop to the Clamours of the Merchants, who, in Time of Peace, had suffered immense Losses, by the Depredations of the Inhabitants of the low Countries (o). But had he meant honestly, which 'tis much doubted he never did, is it to be imagined, that Negotiations should prove successful, supported by so impotent an Administration, and conducted by such Heads.

THE main Instrument he made Use of in these Transactions, was one *Roger*, a low dirty Fellow, whose chief Talent consisted

(n) Lind. p. 86. *Fœdera Ang. Tom. II. p. 824.*

(o) Eod. Anno legati—ad sedendas mercatorum querelas missi—rebus infectis reversi.



consisted in Lying and Buffoonry (*p*). His first Appearance in the World, was in the Retinue of an Ambassador, and by his Impudence, his singing lewd (*q*) Songs, and an aukward Drollery, he thrust himself in among his Betters, and bustled into Court at so lucky a Season, that he rose to great Honours, and is represented as the second Person of this glorious Ministry (*r*). Whether or no he was any ways related to Sir Robert, I have not been able to discover, but, as they lived in great Intimacy, in their Fate they were Brothers, for they were both hang'd over the same Bridge.

LONG were the necessary Effects, the inevitable Consequences of the Measures of these two extraordinary Ministers, foreseen; often were they foretold, that the Injuries, the Affronts, their Conduct had drawn from all Quarters of the Kingdom, were only the Forerunners of greater Evils; that as Trade, Riches, and the Authority, inseparable

(*p*) Rogerus Anglus cantor, qui cum Regis Angliæ legatis in Scotiam ingressus, postquam semel & iterum Regi auditus placuit, ab eo retentus, & divitiis auctus, brevi in equestriam ordinem est ascriptus.—E contemptissimo genere hominum sol. auda. & improb. commend. Buch. p. 231. (*q*) Roger, an Inticer to Lewdness, Hume, p. 222. (*r*) On these Two he reposed the Burden of his Affairs, Hume, *Ibid*.

inseparable from a flourishing Nation, were acquired by Force, by Force they must be maintained and defended: But, till an Invasion was actually attempted, their slavish Advocates impudently asserted, that it was politick to wink at trifling Disgraces, as they term'd them, and that the artful Negotiations, the superior Abilities of the unprecedented Ministers, would extricate the Nation from the Dangers that threaten'd it, with less Expence and greater Safety, than the Hazard wherewith violent Measures is constantly attended (s).

BUT these were meer Pretences. The real Cause of the Minister's Backwardness, to engage in a War, was, that he saw his own Ruin inseparable from it (t).

HE could not expect chearful Supplies, from a People whose Destruction he had projected, and gone far towards accomplishing: He had suffered the Merchants, with Impunity, to be plunder'd; he had plotted the Disgrace of all the great Men, and in depressing them consisted his Safety; how could he hope for Support or Continuance from either? And so thoroughly was he in the End deserted, that however they might rub on in peaceable Times, he had not Men to serve under him, who were

were equal to the Dispatch of common Business, in case of a War. Nay, farther, there was not a Man in the Kingdom, to whom his jealous Pate ( even before his Situation became so ticklish ) would venture to entrust the Command of an Army.

He saw he was undone, if the King went Abroad without him, and he felt, at *Lawder*, the fatal Effects of attending him in his Expedition. *'These Upstarts, in fine, says Buchanan, who had raised themselves upon the Ruins of all that was great, and respected in the Kingdom; who, from Beggars, had enriched themselves by the Losses and Calamities of Thousands of their Fellow-Citizens; whose Conduct, in a Word, and weak Counsels, had occasioned the War, dreaded nothing so much as bringing an Army into the Field (u).* And, rather than expose their Persons and Estates to these evident Hazards, they resolved to behold, with Tranquillity, the Execution of Schemes which evidently tended towards dethroning the King, and the Ruin of the Country.

F

FOR

(u) *Homines enim nuper egeni, & qui ex aliorum calamitatibus creverant, Regique impotentium consiliorum auctores fuerant, metuebant, scil. bellum. — Inviti exercitum inducunt, Buch. p. 232. Loath were these new Men to the Work, Hume, p. 223.*



FOR Men who bragg'd so much of their  
 & *Dexterity, in getting into the Cabinets*  
 ' of Princes, could not be ignorant of the  
 Duke of *Albany's* Sollicitations in *France*,  
 and his Intrigues at the Court of *England*,  
 and that *Edward*, led by Interest and In-  
 clination (x), had long waited a proper  
 Opportunity, and was then actually mak-  
 ing Preparations to send him Home with a  
 powerful Army, in order to place him on  
 the Throne. Yet no Steps were taken to  
 defeat these Intrigues, no Measures entred  
 into to create a Diversion, nor a serious  
 Thought of putting the Nation in a Po-  
 sture of Defence, till the Enemy was in  
 the Country. Nay, some Passages of these  
 Times give Ground to suspect, that, by his  
 Agents Abroad, the Minister intended to  
 make Terms with the Duke; and, in  
 Hopes to screen himself from Justice, by  
 the Interest of so considerable a Party, that  
 he was resolved to be himself the Instru-  
 ment of dethroning his Master (y): But,  
 such a Scheme required an abler Head than  
 his to carry it into Execution; and, if it  
 was his Intention, the Fact is, that he  
 bungled it, as he did most other Things.

BUT whatever Motives the Minister  
 was

(x) *Fœd. Ang. Tom 12. p. 156, 160, 161.* (y) *Buch. p. 234. Hume, p. 227.*

was guided by, the Patriots were not wanting in their Duty ; and, notwithstanding the many fruitless Remonstrances they had already made, they resolved now to make a last Effort. *‘ To that End, they deputed a wise Man, (as Lindsay writes) to represent to the King, the fatal Consequences of the Discontents that daily encreased throughout the Kingdom, and the imminent Danger to which his Majesty exposed himself, by entrusting the Administration of his Affairs, and the Defence of the Nation, to Persons who had nothing in View but their particular Profits. To conjure his Majesty to lay aside all Jealousy and Suspicion of their Loyalty and Zeal, and to assure him, that, by hearkening to their faithful Counsels, he would quickly regain the Affections of his People, and restore his Kingdom to the same flourishing Condition wherein his royal Father left it.*

*‘ But if, contrary to their earnest Wishes for his Majesty’s Safety and Honour, he still persisted in suffering himself to be deluded by these perverse and selfish Counsellors : They humbly begged Leave to protest, that they should be held guiltless of the Misgovernment of the Realm, before God and Man ; and whatever Mischiefs might*

' *might ensue, must ly at his Majesty's Door* (z).

THIS zealous Protest or Remonstrance of the Patriots, incensed, but did not convince the King. The Substance of his Answer was, That he liked those he employed, and would not '*turn a Man forth of his Company for their Pleasure*. And, seeing that farther Endeavours of that Nature were to no Purpose, they determined to wait a proper Season of attempting a Remedy more effectual.

THUS, while the Minister went on projecting, negotiating, blundering, trembling, blustering, disgracing and corrupting, and the unwearied Patriots remonstrating, computing, opposing, protesting and watching, the Opportunity long looked for at last offered, and they were too quick-sighted to let it escape them.

THEIR Neighbours, invited by their intestine Discord (a), the universal Discontent, and the Weakness of the Administration, judged it a proper Juncture to invade them; and all Things were ready for the Execution, before the Courtiers would acknowledge there was any such Design.

SOME

(z) Lindsay, p. 76. (a) *Alexandro*—*Magna auxilia conventura, & nobilitatem cum Rege discordem suam fore, Anglus pollicebatur, Buch. p. 234.*



SOME Counties the Minister had, with his usual tender Regard for the publick Welfare, already suffered to be laid waste by the Enemy (*b*); but Treaties, Negotiations and Congresses, were become Threadbare Tales; even *Roger* blush'd! to mention them, and their Store of pacifick Expedients was now quite exhausted. So that Self-defence, the Cries of the oppressed (*c*), and the Tumults of the People, compelled them at last to take the Field, and the King, with his Cabinet-Council, at the Head of 50000 Men, advanced toward the Enemy (*d*). As their consummate Wisdom had brought the Nation into these Difficulties, they were judged, no Doubt, the ablest, the most proper Heads to extricate it, and with them alone did the King continue to consult, even with Regard to his warlike Operations (*e*).

THIS Conduct, if it did not quicken the Resentment of the Patriots, it served, at least, to justify their Proceedings to the Multitude, and facilitate their Success; and as they perceived these favourable Dispositions

(*b*) *Quamquam res Scotia, vastatis aliquot regionibus, pejore in loco erat, tamen—inviti, Buch. p. 232.* (*c*) *Lind. p. 77.* (*d*) *Hume, p. 223.* (*e*) *Rex nihil de superiorum temporum ratione omittebat, nobilitate enim diffusus, omnia per domesticum consilium transigebat, Buch. p. 232.*

positions, they resolved to improve them in as quiet and regular a Manner as the Nature of their Design would permit (*f*). For this Purpose, after the second Day's March, they appointed the Earls of *Angus* and *Argyle*, the Chancellor, *Evandale*, and some others of the most considerable of the Party, to consult what was proper to be done, and prepare Matters for a general Meeting, which was accordingly held, at Three next Morning, in the Church of *Lawder* (*g*).

I shall not trouble the Reader with a Translation of the Earl of *Angus's* Speech (*b*); it contains a Recapitulation of the Grievances already mentioned. He laid before them, in moving Terms, the State of the Nation, and, in particular, the unhappy Circumstances of the Nobility, the chief of them being thrust into Disgrace, and their Country deprived of their Services, because they disdained to concur in dirty Jobs, and act contrary to Conviction and Conscience (*i*). He lamented the Condition of the King, a Prince of infinite Worth, and such Qualities as would render

(*f*) Buch. p. 232. Hume, p. 223. (*g*) Lind. p. 77. Hume, p. 224. (*b*) Buch. p. 233. (*i*) Principes nobilitatis, in exilium pulsi, aut pati intoleranda, aut nefaria facere coguntur.

render his Kingdom perfectly happy, were he not entangled in the Snares of the Minister, who held him in a Sort of Captivity, even in the Sight of his Enemies Camp.

*What Arts, continued he, has not this Man put in Practice to ruin and oppress you? And does not his Guilt lay him under the Necessity of persevering in them?*

*He knows he is, with Justice, detested of all Men; and is therefore become a publick Enemy. He is conscious of his own*

*Want of Merit, and will suffer none that has Parts or Virtue to approach the*

*Throne. Whosoever has Riches to satiate his Avarice, or Power to oppose his*

*pernicious Schemes, him he ranks among the Number of his Enemies; and in these*

*perplexed Circumstances are we, by his Means, involved in a foreign War. But*

*which are to be esteemed the most dangerous Enemies, those who arm you against*

*their Hostilities, by a publick Declaration of War, or the Traitors, who, within*

*your Walls, lay in Ambush to surprise and destroy you? Who, alienating his Maje-*

*sty's Affections from his real Friends, betray him to his Enemies, and leave you*

*depriv'd of a Leader, exposed to continual Alarms. If you are overcome, though you*

*may*



' may escape Death, Slavery and Shame;  
 ' worse than a thousand Deaths! must be  
 ' your Portion: And, should we have the  
 ' good Fortune to conquer, shall we thereby  
 ' acquire Honour to the King, who is al-  
 ' ready detain'd a Prisoner? Shall we pur-  
 ' chase the Comforts of Peace to ourselves,  
 ' whose Ruin the Minister is hourly plot-  
 ' ting? Shall we preserve the Liberties of  
 ' our Country, which he is perpetually de-  
 ' vising Projects to enslave? No! — To  
 ' perpetuate that Minister's Tyranny — To  
 ' secure him Impunity for his past Crimes  
 ' — To increase the Servitude, in which,  
 ' by his Artifices, he holds the King, is to  
 ' be the Price of so much noble Blood; and,  
 ' instead of delivering us from Troubles A-  
 ' broad — Victory, as Matters now stand,  
 ' will serve only to increase our Miseries at  
 ' Home. My Opinion therefore is, in a  
 ' Word — That we ought to shake off our  
 ' domestick Fetters, and rid ourselves of  
 ' intestine Foes, before we engage with a  
 ' foreign Enemy. If you act otherwise, you  
 ' must become Slaves to the Lust and Ambi-  
 ' tion of a few; you will strengthen the  
 ' Hands of your most dangerous Enemy,  
 ' and thereby become Traitors to your King  
 ' and your Country.

' What

*'What you determine, I pray GOD to prosper.*

THE Earl of *Angus's* Speech had all the Effects he could have wished; and nothing was to be heard in the Church, but a confus'd Noise of *Traitors! Justice! publick Enemies* (k). This the Lord *Gray* interrupted with the Fable of the Mice (l), who having met to consult about the Methods to prevent their being surpris'd by the Cat, resolv'd, that tying a Bell about her Neck would infallibly answer that End; but when it came to the Execution, they were all silent, and none of them seem'd fond of the Office. The Earl understood his Meaning, and boldly replied, *'I will Bell the Cat; and what you resolve upon shall not lack Execution* (m). Upon which it was unanimously agreed, that the Minister and his Accomplices should be forthwith seized, and brought to Judgment. And, that their Resolution might be executed with the greater Decency, a few Lords only, with a sufficient Number of their Friends, were deputed to Court for that Purpose (n).

IN their Way to the King's Tent, they met Sir *Robert*, who, with a numerous Attendance;

(k) *Malos male perdendos.* (l) *Hume, p. 225.* (m) *Ibid.* (n) *Hume, Ibid. Buch. p. 223.*

tendance, came to enquire the Reason of their assembling at so unusual an Hour (o); but, by their Behaviour, his Followers seem'd to have been better Flatterers than Fighters; fitter for a Levee than a Camp: For, when the Earl of *Angus* delivered him Prisoner to one of his Servants, and pulling the Collar from about his Neck, told him, '*He would take Care to provide him in one that would become such a Fellow better,*' the Levee dispersed in the usual Manner, without presuming to give the least Disturbance.

As soon as his Creatures and Accomplices were apprehended, he was tried in the usual Form, without Tumult, Mob, or Disorder; and, pursuant to his Sentence, he was, to the inexpressible Joy of all that were present, hang'd over the Bridge, in a Hair Tether (p). This, it seems, was made Choice of, to check his ill-tim'd Magnificence, in begging to be tuck'd up in a silken String, of which he offered to provide them,

How many of his Associates suffered at the same Time, is uncertain; no Body is nam'd but poor *Roger*. But, by the Historian's

(o) Hume, p. 224. Buch. p. 234. (p) Above the rest of his Complices, *Lind.* p. 78, 79.



rian's Account, the Number must have been considerable; for it is said, *'That none of these wicked Counsellors, his Accomplices, escaped, except a Stripling, of a good Family, who, to save his Life, got up behind the King's Horse (q), and, at his Majesty's Desire, was forgiven.'* What Station he was in seems very doubtful; for the same Writers call him sometimes *'A Counsellor, sometimes one of the Minister's Cabal, always one of the Guilty, and sometimes a Page (r).'* This, indeed, may be owing to a Smock Face, to his Youth, or possibly to his getting up behind the King: But, by all I have been able to gather from the best Accounts, *He was something amphibious, between a Page and a Privy Counsellor.*

*'Thus, says a judicious Writer (s), they did remove these Men, whom the Good of the King, of the Nobility, and of the whole Country required, necessarily, to be removed from their Prince. Yet it was done with as great Respect to himself, as it could be in such a Case, where Matters were to proceed contrary to his Mind. They offer his Person no Violence;*

(q) Lind. p. 79. (r) Hume, p. 222. Buch. p. 234. Lind. *ibid.* (s) Hume, p. 226.

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thence; they do not misbehave themselves  
in Words: they are careful it be not done  
in a tumultuous Way, and therefore come  
accompanied with the smaller Number:  
they grant his Desire, when he interced-  
ed for one of the Guilty: which shew  
how willing they would have been to  
have granted the rest also, if it could  
have been done with Safety: A very re-  
markable and rare Instance of Carefulness  
of the Commonwealth, join'd with all  
Modesty, Love and Duty towards their  
King. Their Behaviour was just such  
as Lawyers prescribe in such Cases, who,  
accounting the Person of the Prince sa-  
cred, and not to be touch'd on any Ac-  
count, do allow, that their wicked Coun-  
sellors and Abusers should be taken Order  
upon, where the Good of the Country en-  
forceth it.

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F I N I S.

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